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SUBJECT: MALIK AGAR PRESSES HARD FOR TRUTH TO BE TOLD IN THREE AREAS
EXPULSION REPORT

Refs: A. Khartoum 332
[1](#)B. Khartoum 306

[1](#)1. (SBU) Summary. Governor of Blue Nile State Malik Agar is fighting for the truth to be reflected in an INGO expulsion report for the Three Areas. According to Malik, the Three Areas joint UN-GOS assessment after the National Congress Party's (NCP's) INGO expulsions on March 4 revealed that INGOs provided 90 percent of the development, reconciliation programming, and service delivery in these fragile and turbulent regions, which straddle the 1-1-56 north/south border. Malik emphasized the need for peace dividends to be realized in the Three Areas, whether through Government of National Unity (GNU) development funding or international assistance, in order to convince the people that they have something worth keeping the peace for. Right now, they have to lose by going back to war, he said. Malik also said that the SPLM has secured the commitment of key Darfur rebel leaders such as Khalil Ibrahim and Abdel Wahid Al Nour to convene in Juba "soon." He said that the SPLM is trying to convince GNU President Bashir to allow First Vice President (and SPLM Chairman) Salva Kiir to offer attractive concessions, in the way of uniting the Darfur region and providing compensation, to these leaders to coax them into joining Darfur political negotiations in Doha, Qatar. End Summary.

MALIK FIGHTS FOR A TRUTHFUL THREE AREAS EXPULSION REPORT

[1](#)2. (SBU) On April 26, CDA Fernandez met with the combative Governor of Blue Nile State Malik Agar (who is also Deputy Secretary General of the SPLM) in Khartoum. Governor Malik has been spending more time in Khartoum lately as he continues to battle the NCP over the final version of a joint UN-GOS assessment of the March 4 INGO expulsions on the Three Areas (Blue Nile, Southern Kordofan and Abyei) (ref B). Malik explained to the CDA that he had been in a meeting earlier in the day with State Minister for Humanitarian Affairs (and ICC indictee) Ahmed Haroun and the obstructionist Humanitarian Aid Commissioner (HAC) Hassabo to discuss the assessment and return of aid to the Three Areas. "The meeting went very badly; Hassabo was very hostile and is delaying the assessment report for the Three Areas," said Malik. According to Malik, the NCP and HAC are trying to sabotage the facts of the report in order to downplay the impact of the expulsions on the Three Areas while Malik and some of his other SPLM colleagues are fighting for the release of a more truthful report. Unfortunately, "They are trying to implicate me for delaying" their deficient report, said Malik. The Governor said that the SPLM sarcastically thanked the NCP for the expulsions "because we learned through the assessments that 90 percent of the work" (development, service delivery, reconciliation, etc.) in those areas was being provided by NGOs, not the state, area or federal governments. "It is good that this has been brought to our attention; the Government needs to do something about it now," he said. Governor Malik told CDA that in previous discussions the

NCP told him that the expelled NGOs could return to Sudan if they assumed new names. The NCP asked that he communicate this message to the expelled groups. Malik said that he spoke with CARE and some of the other groups and they would not accept such terms (though this information is dated, as CARE is traveling to Khartoum later this week to discuss the new arrangement with the GOS). He also said that the NCP was keen to have new or local NGOs assume the work that the expelled and dissolved groups were doing. CDA Fernandez explained to Malik Special Envoy Gration's approach to dealing with the expulsion crisis during his visit to Khartoum in early April.

13. (SBU) Governor Malik told the CDA that the Three Areas assessment report would be filed this week. The part of the report that deals with Blue Nile State is finished, but the Abyei portion of the report is holding us up, he said. [Note: Governor Malik made no mention of the Southern Kordofan portion of the report, which we understand from other sources is still under discussion. End Note.]

The NCP and HAC wanted to release three separate reports - one for each of the two states and a third for Abyei. Malik refused and told them that the report must be a comprehensive one for the entire Three Areas. Malik said that the SPLM and HAC/NCP discussed how the joint SPLM-NCP administration of the Three Areas lends itself to a different structure for allowing accessibility to the region. "There are three-to-four [outstanding] issues related to accessibility of the Three Areas; we think we'll resolve this shortly," he said.

14. (SBU) Malik added that a USG push on getting aid back into the Three Areas and having a Three Areas accessibility system that is jointly administered by the SPLM and the NCP would be helpful. The Three Areas have fallen off of your radar over the past few years,

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especially Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan, claimed Malik. "I am being frank - it is no longer on your radar; there are no peace dividends or funds for development," he added. The Governor said that the Government of National Unity (GNU) had promised Blue Nile State alone 300 million Sudanese pounds (SDP) in development funding. Malik was told by the NCP that he should expect a "GNU Ministry of Finance letter of guarantee for 50 million SDP" by April 27. "Up to now, none of this money has been realized," he said. "People's frustrations are kicking in." The only things that existed in Blue Nile were built by the INGOs - schools, a health clinic here and there." We have received no funds from the GNU for development and the people's frustration is compounded by the fact that the international community has forgotten about Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan, said Malik. The two states' hope is for peace in Sudan, but they have nothing to fear that they will lose if they do go back to war, he continued. With the southern Sudan Referendum on self-determination only 20 months away, people are resigned to the fact that the South is going to separate. "If the South goes, there will be no Sudan," said Malik. Blue Nile, Southern Kordofan and Abyei will also look for a way to go South; Darfur will disintegrate and become entangled with Chad, and the East will "kiss and make-up" with Eritrea, said Malik. All of this means a lot of bloodshed in Sudan, he continued. "If elections are rigged in any way, there will be violence immediately in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, he warned. The two states are flashpoints for conflict, he added.

15. (SBU) CDA explained that the US was beginning to ratchet up its assistance to Three Areas through a USD 100 million USAID program that includes development assistance, service delivery and peace and reconciliation programs (BRIDGE). CDA explained that the INGO expulsions in March 2009 cut the USG off at the knees in terms of being able to deliver the program to the Three Areas (ref B). CDA lamented that the NCP had "succeeded in delaying" the BRIDGE program with the INGO expulsions at least until after this year's rainy season. Governor Malik asked if USAID was ready to "find another mechanism" to bridge the assistance gap in the meantime. CDA told Malik that the USG has some ideas and that Special Envoy Gration would travel to Sudan with the Deputy Director for USAID next week in order to discuss various options. Malik said the NGO delivery of peace-building, service delivery and reconciliation brought "some hope" to the Three Areas. "We'll think together on what we can do," he said. [Note: SE Gration will meet with Governor Malik during his

upcoming visit to Sudan on April 5-9. End note.]

SPLM TO BRING DARFUR REBEL LEADERS TO JUBA

16. (SBU) Governor Malik took the opportunity to tell CDA that the SPLM has been successful in convincing Darfur rebel commanders, including the Justice and Equality Movement's (JEM's) Khalil Ibrahim and the Sudan Liberation Army's (SLA's) Abdel Wahid Al Nour, to convene in Juba. (Note: Not surprisingly, we later learned from SPLM Darfur Task Force leader and newly-appointed Deputy Governor of Southern Kordofan Abdel Aziz Helou that Abdel Wahid Al Nur had not yet agreed to travel to Juba, but that the SPLM is still hopeful that Abdel Wahid will allow some of his commanders to travel to Juba - septel. End note.) Although a definitive date has not yet been set, the movements will come to Juba "soon," said Malik. Malik said that the SPLM has informed the NCP (Security Chief Salah Ghosh) about Khalil, Abdel Wahid and others traveling to Juba - "we know this is sensitive to them," he said. Malik said that the SPLM is trying to convince GNU President Bashir to allow GNU First Vice President and SPLM Chairman Salva Kiir Mayardit to provide concessions to the movements in order to get them to come to the negotiating table in Doha. Malik explained that this would mean that Bashir, through Kiir, should be ready to offer individual compensation to Abdel Wahid and the Fur and a united Darfur region and federal vice presidency slot to Khalil and JEM. "We told him [President Bashir] that this is a good opportunity," said Malik. We also told him that Darfur could be linked to a UNSC postponement on the ICC indictment, he continued. CDA pointed out that a UNSC vote to postpone to the ICC indictment was highly unlikely because Sudan doesn't have (and won't get) the votes that it needs to make it happen.

17. (SBU) Malik said that GNU Foreign Minister Deng Alor (SPLM) will talk to President Bashir about the SPLM's idea of allowing Kiir to offer concessions to JEM and SLM-AW. CDA cautioned that this may not work because the NCP doesn't like to see the SPLM (or anyone other than the NCP) succeed in brokering peace for Darfur. It is hard to conceive that Bashir would willingly want to be helpful to Kiir in this matter. Malik agreed with the CDA, but said something must be done. "Ocampo reports to the UNSC in June . . . when the UNSC defeats a vote to postpone the ICC indictment of Bashir, I see

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this country disintegrating," he said. Malik explained that the Darfur leaders want to meet and agree with the SPLM first before agreeing to something with the NCP. Malik said that his opinion is that if Bashir does not allow Kiir to offer concessions to Khalil and Abdel Wahid, then it is "pointless for them to come" to Juba. If they come to Juba and Kiir cannot offer them anything, it is embarrassing to the First Vice President and could destroy the SPLM's credibility. If Bashir is unwilling to offer anything through Kiir, then we [the SPLM] should tell Khalil and Abdel Wahid that there is no sense in coming to Juba, sighed Malik.

18. (SBU) Comment: In typical fashion, a strong-willed and articulate Malik Agar has gone head-to-head with the NCP and HAC on the issue of the impact of the INGO expulsions on the Three Areas, and in particular on Blue Nile State. The burly Malik is not someone to walk away from a fight, so the NCP will have a harder time employing a divide and conquer tactic on the Three Areas (with regard to the joint assessment) as long as Malik is watching. If the SPLM can negotiate with the NCP/HAC on a joint NCP-SPLM arrangement for allowing access to the Three Areas for INGOs from the North, then this is a step in the right direction. The Embassy continues to meet with representatives from Blue Nile, Southern Kordofan and Abyei to explain to them the importance of negotiating an improved operating environment for INGOS in the Three Areas so that significant development programs like USAID's BRIDGE can move forward. Such programs are critical to keeping the peace in the Three Areas before and during 2010 elections and the 2011 southern Sudan Referendum and helping them determine a workable end state solution.

19. (SBU) Comment continued: The SPLM continues to be involved in finding a political solution to the problem of Darfur, and its invitation to Darfur rebel leaders to convene in Juba is its latest

strategy to try and convince the big players (Khalil and Abdel Wahid) to enter negotiations with the GNU in Doha, Qatar. It will be a big win for the SPLM if Khalil and Abdel Wahid do show up in Juba, but Malik's assessment is right - the GNU, through President Bashir and FVP Kiir, must be willing to offer the rebel leaders attractive concessions in order to get any traction on their participation in Doha. Unfortunately, the NCP is generally unwilling to allow its CPA partner to score any political gains, even when it could lead to peace. The NCP will want to offer an individual deal on Darfur on its own terms, but unfortunately what is has offered until now has not been good enough nor are the Darfuri rebels united or clear enough on what they want. The best hope for concessions from the regime on Darfur will likely come through pressure and incentives offered via U.S. bilateral engagement. End Comment.

FERNANDEZ